The nature of Government illuſtra ted, and urged as an argument of Loyalty to his Majeſty King GEORGE. (10)

IN A

SERMON

PREACHED AT

ORMSKIRK,

NOVEMBER 5. 1751.

By *BENJAMIN SANDFORD.*

Integrity and honeſty of mind cannot preſerve themſelves, where the violent prejudices of party and faction have once got poſſeſſion.

Dr. *Hare's* ſecond letter to a Tory-member.

O fortunatos nimium, bona ſi ſua norint, Angligenas!

Francis de Mezeray.

LONDON:

Printed and ſold by J. WAUGH, at the *Turk's-Head* in *Lombard-Street.* MDCCLII.

The Nature of Government illuſtrated, &c.

ROM. xiii 1—8.

Let every ſoul be ſubject unto the higher powers, for there is no power but of GOD, &c.— *For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil,* &c.— *For he is the miniſter of* GOD *to Thee for good,* &c.

THIS paſſage of ſcripture deſcribes the duty of chriſtians, to the civil magiſtrate, and, at the ſame time, in an oblique, but ſtrong and judicious manner, ſets forth the origin, end, and limits

of civil Government, in a manner ſo clear as to be underſtood by all, and ſo handſome as to give offence to none; not even to a *Nero*, or a *Claudius*, if it came to their hands. It is well known, that the *Jews* had notions relating to government, favourable to none but their own; and it was with great reluctance that they ſubmitted to a foreign juriſdiction. It is not therefore improbable, that what the apoſtle here writes was occaſioned by ſome tumults among the *Jews*, either upon a civil or religious account; whether of the two is not eaſily determined. The chriſtians under a notion of their being the people of GOD, the ſubjects of his kingdom, might be in danger of being infected with theſe unruly rebellious ſentiments. The apoſtle therefore ſhews them, that they were bound by the ſtrongeſt obligations of conſcience, to pay ſubjection to civil Government, notwithſtanding their honour and privileges as chriſtians.

It is no ſecret to what miſchievous and blaſphemous purpoſes, this portion of ſcripture has been abuſed and proſtituted by the enemies of the liberties of mankind; and how the pride and avarice of baſe minions and enſlaving

ſlaving prieſts (always finding their own account herein) have hence pretended a ſcripture warrant for the divine right of monarchy, and the obligation of the people to pay an abſolute and blind obedience to any that happens to be inveſted with regal power (according to their ſcheme of politicks) on pain of eternal damnation, even to the ruin of their fortunes, and the ſlavery of body and conſcience: *i. e.* that the magiſtrate, has a divine commiſſion to be a tyrant, and in the name, and by the authority of the merciful GOD and Father of mankind, to rob, oppreſs, and enſlave the people; and yet the poor ſuffering herd (as if his own flock to fleece or murder) have no right to complain, but muſt tamely and paſſively, and for conſcience ſake, ſubmit to the devaſtation and frantic madneſs of oppreſſive greatneſs; and not reſiſt, certain ruin and death, upon pain of future damnation.

But, however this ſenſeleſs doctrine might take in the dark ages of popery, or ſuit mean tyranny to receive, and undiſcerning ſuperſtition, and blind bigotry, to offer as an incenſe to monarchy, bleſſed be GOD, the caſe is otherwiſe now. We have a Monarch that diſdains blaſphemous flattery and blind adulations

tions, who not only knows that the laws, and not his mere will, are the rule of Government, but is naturally inclined, from his inward paternal regard for the good of his people, to act according to the direction of thoſe laws. And we have a people, that dare bravely aſſert and vindicate the ſacred rights of liberty; who can, and will ſee and judge for themſelves. And, muſt not I add, as a bleſſing to our nation and a glory to the proteſtant church, that the generality of our clergy, (the leading ones eſpecially) are as zealous patterns of private judgment and advocates for univerſal liberty, as they are ſhining examples of loyalty to the beſt of Kings. That this conduct of ma- magiſtrate and people, mutually concurring to each others good, and promoting the good and harmony of the whole, is not only founded in eternal righteouſneſs and reaſon, but that it alſo is confirmed by the ſcripture, and that there is nothing in all this remarkable paſſage *particularly*, to oppoſe or contradict theſe unalieanable rights of nature, I propoſe to make evident, in conſidering the obſervations that ariſe from, and are included in it.

But

But to have a clearer view, and better underſtanding of the ſenſe and connexion of the words, take the following paraphraſe. "Let "every one of you, none excepted, be ſub- "ject to the over-ruling powers of the Go- "vernment he lives in. There is no power "but what is from GOD: the powers that "are in being, are ordained by GOD. So "that he who reſiſteth the powers, reſiſteth "the ordinance of GOD, and they that re- "ſiſt will be puniſhed by thoſe powers that "they do reſiſt, and moreover expoſe them- "ſelves to the divine judgment.—And it is "but juſt they ſhould. For conſider, — civil "Government is eſtabliſhed for the benefit "of mankind; not to terrify and diſcoun- "tenance the virtuous, but to puniſh and "reſtrain the vicious. Would you then live "comfortably and without fear of the power "which is delegated to magiſtrates! live righ- "teouſly and peaceably; and you will find "the power, which is the ſcourge of iniquity "will reward your virtue, with countenance "and protection.——For the magiſtrate, ac- "cording to the true nature of his office, is "the miniſter and vice-gerent of GOD, for "the good, the peace and ſafety of the ſub-

"ject

" ject ; (not to hurt and abuſe you, not to
" tyrannize over you, not to perſecute you,
" or to rob you of any natural or national
" right ;)—But if you are wicked and unruly,
" then have you reaſon to be uneaſy and afraid.
" For GOD, whoſe officer he is, hath not
" put into his hand an uſeleſs ſword, but
" with an intent he ſhould inflict due puniſh-
" ment, upon offenders.——Wherefore, as
" all Government in every country, is the
" ordinance of GOD ; and the end of it, to
" protect the good, and puniſh evil men, you
" ought to live as peaceable ſubjects at *Rome*,
" and in all parts of the empire, not only
" for fear of the puniſhment, which diſo-
" bedience will draw upon you, but out of
" conſcience, as a duty you owe to GOD.
" ——It is alſo with relation to the ordi-
" nance of GOD, and the benefit of Govern-
" ment, that you pay taxes for the ſupport
" of it. Which ſhould in reaſon, be re-
" garded as a debt due to magiſtrates, as they
" are GOD's ſervants, who employ their care
" time and pains for the publick weal.—There-
" fore, ſee that you chearfully pay all taxes,
" ſubſidies and cuſtoms, as juſt and legal
" dues. Honour and reſpect the government

" you

" you live under, and pay to every magiſtrate,
" and officer employed in it, his proper reve-
" rence and regard."

1. From this illuſtration of this paſſage, we may obſerve, that we have here the original of Government aſſerted, as to it's being and obligation, but not as to it's particular form.—The law of nature directs ſocieties to Government: that neceſſary connexion there is amongſt men, that mutual dependance on each other, both for ſubſiſtence and for the convenience of life, make it neceſſary for men to enter into ſocieties. And as nature directs us to enter into ſocieties, and form families and communities (this being neceſſary to the enjoyment of life.) So does the wiſdom and intereſt of ſocieties, oblige them to enact laws, and agree upon the choice of ſome one or more, to inveſt with the power of executing theſe laws, for the good of the community, for whom ſuch laws are made, to preſerve the rights of the people, and to defend them againſt all enemies. This is magiſtracy; and thus does the law of nature direct to the choice of magiſtracy. And as the law of nature is only another word for the law of God, the author of nature, it is an

obvious and natural concluſion that Government is the ordinance of GOD. In this ſenſe it is ſaid, *there is no power but what is of* GOD; *and the powers that be, are ordained of* GOD. But then, there is nothing hinted in all this, as to the particular *form of Government*, or the particular *perſon* that is to govern; or whether the ſupreme power ſhall be lodged in one hand, or in a number of hands. All this is left to the choice and agreement of men, according to the different cuſtoms, laws, or genius of different countries.

Every civil ſociety has a natural right to enact what laws they chuſe to be governed by, and to determine in what hand they pleaſe to entruſt the execution of thoſe laws. In whomſoever this power is lodged, whether in one, or in a number,——there is magiſtracy; and the Government is the order of providence, as well as it was in the *Jewiſh* ſtate, "though differing in the mode of inſtitution."

As Goverment then, is the ordinance of GOD, becauſe the very law of nature directs to it, the circumſtances of men require it, and human ſociety cannot ſubſiſt, "according to his intention," without it; in this ſenſe therefore

therefore, the governors or the executors of the laws, are the repreſentatives of GOD, or his miniſters. But as the particular form of Government, or the perſons governing, is the choice and ordinance of men; in this ſenſe, the magiſtrate is properly the high-ſteward of the people, to execute their laws, for a common good. Upon this latter account, it is called the ordinance of man; 1 *Pet.* ii. 13, 14. *Submit yourſelves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's ſake, whether it be to the King as ſupreme; or unto Governors, as unto them that are ſent by him, for the puniſhment of evil-doers, and the praiſe of them that do well.*

In one word; the apoſtle here ſpeaks of the "higher power, *i. e.* of the ſupreme "civil power, which is in every common-"wealth derived from GOD, and is of the "ſame extent every where, *i. e.* is abſolute "and unlimited by any thing, but the end "for which GOD gave it, *viz.* the good of "the people ſincerely purſued, according to "the beſt of the ſkill of thoſe who ſhare that "power, and ſo not to be reſiſted. But "how any particular man came by a rightful "title to this power, or who has that title,

" he is wholy ſilent and ſays nothing of. To
" have medled with this point, would
" have been to decide of civil rights, con-
" trary to the deſign and buſineſs of the goſ-
" pel, and the example of our Saviour, who
" refuſed medling in ſuch caſes, with this
" deciſive queſtion, —*Who made me a judge,*
" *or a divider among you?*"

2. The apoſtle here lays down the nature, end, extent and limits of Government, *viz.* it is to execute the laws of the community, for the good of that particular community that hath choſen it, and enacted theſe laws, to preſerve them in all their rights, liberties and privileges, againſt all enemies, and to exert it's power in the prevention of evil, and the puniſhment of the wicked. *Rulers are not a terror to good works, but to evil. — For he is the miniſter of* GOD *to thee for good.*

This, as the ordinance of GOD, is the end and nature of Government. And whenever Rulers do not rule thus by law for the good of the people, they are not GOD's repreſentatives; they are not the miniſters of GOD; they are not GOD's ordinance, though Government be, nor as ſuch can aſſume authority, and demand obedience; unleſs we will make

make no distinction betwixt Government and Tyranny, Government and the persons that are entrusted to govern, let them be what they will, or the office of Government, and the persons invested with it; or can believe that the Father of mankind can be the author of confusion, and ruin, oppression and misery in his works; or that he that acts most unlike to God, can be his appointed minister and representative; or that he that acts as if commissioned by the devil, should nevertheless be obeyed, as having a commission from God to rob, spoil, and enslave his creatures, and spread universal devastation and misery amongst some of the most exalted parts of his works.

The magistrate bears the sword not to stab, but to execute the laws. Not to cut, but to enforce them.— To guard them from contempt and violation, and defend the people against any that would break through their sacred obligation to the hurt or destruction of the obedient and virtuous. In doing his duty then, and in this only, the magistrate is the minister of God, and a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil,—when he puts the laws in force, and punishes the seditious,

ditious, fractious and disobedient, as pests in society, and endangering the peace and safety of the community.

" Government was instituted for the sake " of the people, that they might be protected, " every one, in the peaceable possession of " their proper rights; and for this end, such " a share of power and prerogative was trans- " ferred by society to the magistrate as they " thought fit, that he might be enabled to pro- " tect them. This is the main end and only " design of Government."

And indeed, this righteous conduct in the magistrate, is the best method, in the nature of things, and in the course of providence, to secure his throne and bless his people. No people can be blessed under tyranny, and where good laws are not faithfully executed; nor can any prince be safe in the pursuit of lawless and oppressive measures. " This is " the eternal oversight and false craft of ty- " rants; as if a people wealthy and well pro- " tected (blessings that naturally dispose them " to content) were more to be feared by their " protector, than a people plundered and " desperate. The dread of lawless power " may reduce the bodies of men, perhaps

" the

" the lips to acquieſce; but their ſpirits will " remain more ulcerated and implacable."

It is implyed in what I have ſaid and follows from it as a neceſſary conſequence, that all oppreſſion in the magiſtrate, all lawleſs power, or injury, forfeits his character, and is a baſe proſtitution of Government from the godlike purpoſes of good to a people, to the worſt end, *viz.* their miſery and deſtruction, to prevent which, is the end of Government, and the duty of a magiſtate. Government and Tyranny are not the ſame, however men may miſtake and confound them. Government is a truſt, and not a right of property; and therefore cannot be diſpoſed of, or transferred as a property from one to another, or enjoyed by right of inheritance only, as all property may. But, as it is a truſt, it can imply no more power or right in the magiſtrate than what the truſt implies. It muſt be bounded and limited by the parties that put him in truſt, and if thoſe limits and bounds be broke down, it muſt of courſe revert to the people, whence it had it's riſe and original. And as no people can be ſuppoſed knowingly to entruſt a man, or any number of men with power on purpoſe to

enſlave

enſlave and oppreſs them; nor can this be imagined the will and appointment of GOD, the righteous GOD and Father of mankind; it follows that tyranny cannot be the ordinance of GOD, nor of men ſo long as they have their ſenſes; nor therefore is it tamely and paſſively to be ſuffered, upon any the moſt ſolemn pretence of divine right, if poſſible to be broken.

We have already obſerved, that the main end of Government is for the good of the people, and the protection of the community in the enjoyments of their natural rights and privileges, and that for this end only, ſuch a ſhare of power was transferred to the magiſtrate by the people, as was juſt and neceſſary to protect them. "Now if this general "truſtee of the people, ſhould wholly per- "vert the deſigns of the community; ſhould "he invade their rights himſelf; ſhould he "make uſe of the power he is clothed with, "for their benefit only, to their deſtruction; "ſhould he inſtead of a king, or father of "his people prove a tyrant, inſtead of a "ſhepherd, a wolf; I aſk, what muſt, what "ought to be done with him?—I know it is "here commonly ſaid, who muſt be judge?

"--no

" —no man can pretend it is fit the oppreſ-
" ſor himſelf ſhould be judge of his own
" wrong doings: — then the ſuffering people
" muſt, for there is no other except GOD,"
and therefore to him as the common umpire between both parties, muſt the appeal be made by the ſword, if the matter in diſpute cannot otherwiſe be decided. " I aſk there-
" fore again, what muſt, and ought to be
" done with ſuch a tyrant?"—I perſuade myſelf, every rational man will conſent he ought, by all means, to be deprived of his truſt, and a worthier man put in his place.

But conſidering Government, as Government and not as tyranny, as exerciſed for the good of men, in which view only, it is the ordinance of GOD, and (as ſuch) is here conſidered;—It is an obſervation ariſing from this paſſage.

3. That all men are obliged, from the united principles of reaſon and religion, or from the authority of laws human and divine, to ſubmit to all ſuch good Government, and chearfully contribute all in their power to it's defence and ſupport as their nobleſt privilege and greateſt bleſſing: In other words,

here we have the duty of obedience from ſubjects, urged by ſuitable and weighty ſanctions.

If it be the duty of a magiſtrate, and the very eſſence of his office, to execute juſt and wholeſome laws, to protect and defend the ſubjects in all their national and natural rights and liberties, and in every thing to be a father to his people; it is undeniably the duty of ſubjects, thus bleſſed, to behave themſelves as children to ſuch a father. And therefore they are under the ſtrongeſt obligations of honour, eſteem and loyalty to every ſuch Governor, of obedience to his authority and laws, and of contributing chearfully to the eaſe of his Government and Crown, by paying taxes, dues and cuſtoms. *For this cauſe pay you tribute alſo, becauſe they are* GOD's *miniſters attending continually upon this very thing*, that is, wholly devoting themſelves to the good and ſafety of ſociety; *render therefore to all their due; tribute to whom tribute; cuſtom to whom cuſtom; honour to whom honour; fear to whom fear.* This is a moſt reaſonable duty, and which all men ſhould, and are bound to comply with out of conſcience to GOD, as well as fear of man. For if the magiſtrate

ſpends

ſpends all his time, and exerts all his power and ſtrength for the good of the people, to defend them in the peceable poſſeſſion of their rights, and protect them in their liberties; it is but fit and juſt that the people contribute all in their power, to make his work (ſo worthy, and uſeful and neceſſary) eaſy; and not clog the wheels of Good government, and ſubvert it's purpoſe and uſe, by a ſeditious and rebellious ſpirit, but obey the laws and honour the Legiſlature.

I am far from reviving theſe ſtale, and long ſince exploded doctrines of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance;— doctrines ſo inconſiſtent with common ſenſe and the firſt great principle of nature, and ſo deſtructive of the natural liberties of mankind!—ſuch pleaſing incenſe of flattery to weak princes, and blaſphemy againſt GOD, can never be admitted with a people that have their ſenſes, and feel their liberties, (ſuch popiſh politicks would be equally ill-reliſhed by prince and people at this time of day:) and while they have both, they will never imagine any weak and wicked mortal can have a right divine to rob, plague and oppreſs his fellow-creatures, that his cruelties are authorized by an heavenly

commiſſion, or that it is damnation, for any to reſiſt his violence and depredations, and ſtruggle for liberty, the natural inheritance of men, and the free gift of GOD.

I have already ſhewn, that Government is a truſt, (the moſt ſacred and important of truſts!) and that the magiſtrate receives his power from the people to execute their laws for a common good, —that his power is reſtrained by theſe laws, and that all his right of dominion is derived from the united conſent of ſociety, tacit or expreſſed:—It follows then that a violation of theſe laws, by which they chuſe to be governed, is a breach of his truſt, and a forfeiture of his authority; and that in all ſuch caſes, the power of courſe devolves into the hands of the people, whoſe right of reſiſtance to lawleſs power, ariſes from the principles of ſelf-preſervaion, the firſt and ſtrongeſt principle in nature, and that to aſſert that right is a debt they owe to liberty, themſelves and poſterity equally. Upon theſe eternally rational and immutable principles, the ever glorious revolution is built.

Therefore to urge obedience to Good-government, is not urging a blind and paſſive ſubmiſſion to tyranny, as if we muſt become vaſſals

vaſſals and ſlaves to the wild luſt and wanton will of a weak, bloody and mercileſs oppreſſor, who has the impudence to aſſert his right from the merciful and righteous Father of mankind, to lay waſte or make wretched the works of GOD. Good Government is the ordinance of GOD, and as ſuch, ſeeks the good and happineſs of men. Good magiſtrates are the *miniſters of* GOD, *for good to us, and a terror only to evil-doers, but a praiſe to ſuch as do well*; — and therefore have a right to all honour, loyalty and chearful obedience from a people. And where this is not duely tendered, but contempt of dignities, ſedition and rebellion take place and prevail, there is the juſteſt cauſe for puniſhment from GOD and man, as there is the higheſt contempt of heaven, and the greateſt miſchief to ſociety.

I am not aſhamed to preſs this argument with all it's natural weight, upon the ſubjects of our preſent Government; and urge the obligation of loyalty and obedience, as due from all to his *Majeſty King* GEORGE, on the foot of his juſt right to rule, and the unparalleled goodneſs and wiſdom of his reign. For if ever prince merited the character of father

father to his people, if ever prince was really *the miniſter of* GOD, *for good* to mankind, this character is moſt deſervedly his; whom I will venture to aſſert, to be the braveſt, honeſteſt and beſt King, this day reigning upon earth.

Never was Government better formed for the happineſs of the people, than our's is, nor more apparently the ordinance of GOD. We are governed by laws of our own making, lodged in the hands of a legiſlature of our own chuſing; which laws, at once ſecure every one's liberty and property, and moſt ſolemnly oblige the magiſtrate to protect and defend the ſacred treaſure.

In regard to property, it is well known to every *Engliſh* man, that his labour and his ſubſtance is his own, and the meaneſt peaſant has as free acceſs to law for the redreſs of grievances as the the titled peer. Nor has the prince himſelf power, any more than he has inclination, to hurt one hair of our head. And in matters of religion, let our enemies judge, if every man (let his particular mode of profeſſion be what it will) is not left to GOD and his own conſcience, and protected in the free poſſeſſion of his own ſentiments with-

without diſturbance, ſo long as the peace of ſociety is not broke through or endangered? under all theſe bleſſings (almoſt peculiar to this nation) we ſee, we feel ourſelves happy. Learning is improved, — religion is impartially examined and clearly underſtood, — our Bibles and our conſciences are our own: — trade and commerce is encouraged; —our eſtates are cultivated, our poor are employed and fed, — and we are a rich, wiſe, valiant, free and happy people. Can any man, can any ſober and rational man diſpute one moment his obligations of loyalty, honour and obedience to ſo excellent a Government? or can any thing, for ſhame, be offered in excuſe, or to extenuate the guilt of ſedition and rebellion? — Is not this to reſiſt the ordinance of GOD in the proper ſenſe, and ſo to deſerve a due puniſhment?

I know there are many, too many, that (under a Government ſo mild, ſo equitable, ſo gracious, ſo gentle, as to be liable to no diſorders ſo great as mean and miſchievous ſubjects raiſe) will not conſent to what is here advanced. There are many in this kingdom (might not I ſay, in this town and neighbourhood?) that are ſo ſtrongly intoxicated with

ſlaviſh

ſlaviſh principles and popiſh maxims, as to be profeſſed enemies to good Government, and of whom it may be ſaid, as of thoſe in the apoſtle's days, *they are not afraid to ſpeak evil of dignities*; and, as if unable to ſee their own advantage, and ſtupidly inſenſible to their own happy freedom, they pant for chains, and are reſtleſs to introduce ſlavery and oppreſſion amongſt us. Their, I do not know what, fooliſh and ſenſeleſs zeal for the divine right of particular perſons and families to enſlave and deſtroy us, makes them impatient in their deſires, and unwearied in their endeavours, to gratify the wild and boundleſs luſt of a weak tyrant, (nurſed up in the blind biggotry of *Rome* and the politicks of *France*, our implacable enemies)——at the laviſh expence of our laws, liberties, conſciences, properties and lives. Theſe are the delightful views, and theſe the pleaſing efforts of the enemies to our happy conſtitution. Theſe are the principles, theſe the practices of the papiſts and popiſhly-affected amongſt us; and the more there are of this number, the greater reaſon is there, that the principles and bleſſings of liberty and good Government ſhould be underſtood and inculcated, and diſplayed.

That

That thoſe amongſt us, who are profeſſedly of the popiſh communion, and whoſe ſenſes are in the keeping of ſome weak, crafty and mercenary prieſt, and whoſe conſciences are diſpoſed of at the pleaſure of thoſe, who know how to make their market of them, The papiſts whoſe minds are rendered mean and ſlaviſh, like their underſtandings, ſhould breathe for the yoke, and deſire to exalt the power of the clergy, and raiſe the glory and pageantry of their pretended infallible church, (another word only for the prieſts) — by the paſſive ſubmiſſion, oppreſſion and poverty of all, as well as themſelves, is no great wonder, conſidering the ſtupifying nature of their prejudices, and the influence of prieſts over them :—— but that this ſhould be the principle of any, that call themſelves Proteſtants ; Proteſtants, that ſhould have their ſenſes and conſciences in their own keeping ; Proteſtants, that ſhould be ſenſible of liberty and the bleſſings of good Government — is, of all things ſurprizing, — the moſt ſurprizing !—Theſe it is to be feared, retain no more than the bare name, and keep on the maſk the more ſecurely to play their game, and till they dare

 ſafely

ſafely caſt it off, and appear in their proper and undiſguiſed character.

However numerous, blind and biggoted the enemies of our happy conſtitution are, (therefore the object of their envy, and the cauſe of diſcontent, becauſe happy.) — The remarkable and conſtant fate of their deviliſh attempts againſt it, the diſcovery of all their ſecret plots, and defeat of all their open deſigns to overturn ſo happy a Government, and rob us of our liberties and religion; are moſt powerful arguments, why the friends of liberty, ſhould ſtill, if poſſible, be more her hearty friends, and her enemies be aſhamed, and with confuſion look upon the diſappointments of their moſt vigorous efforts, ſo often and in ſuch remarkable ways repeated, as the viſible interpoſition and rebuke of providence.

The mere cauſe of liberty is not left to ſtruggle and beat down all oppoſers by it's own force alone; it is the cauſe of GOD, and providence has, and will favour it, in defiance to all their black contrivances; and the enemies of liberty create to themſelves oppoſition from GOD as well as men, *He that reſiſts the power, reſiſts the ordinance of* GOD, *and*

and ſhall receive damnation: *i. e.* — not eternal miſery hereafter, (as perſecuting ſpirits would ſuggeſt, who are always beſt pleaſed with blood and utter deſtruction.)—but, as the true ſenſe of the paſſage ſeems to be,—he incurs the cenſure and puniſhment of human laws, as violating thoſe laws; and the diſpleaſure of GOD, as caſting contempt upon his ordinance. Call to mind, O ye friends of liberty, the wonderful diſappointments of their many wicked ſchemes of barbarity and ſlavery, and *rejoice in the Lord our ſtrength.* Let rebellious traitors and the blind biggots of popery, and the mean dupes of fawning and cheating prieſts, call to mind how ſhameſuly their deteſtable attempts of maſſacre, deſtruction and blood, have often, (though not always) mocked their utmoſt ſtretch of cunning deceit and policy; and let the remembrance open their eyes, alarm their conſciences, and cauſe them to tremble at the thoughts of any farther deſigns of the like nature. Is it poſſible their ardent thirſt to merit heaven, by drenching their iniquitous hands in the blood of nations, ſhould ſtill blindly prompt them to repeat their pernicious and wicked purpoſes? or need we fear their combinations of vio-

lence, till we can believe we have loſt all reliſh of liberty and virtue, or that the righteous GOD and Father of mankind can commiſſion hell to deſtroy and lay waſte his works?

Have we not hitherto ſeen their rebellions cruſhed, their invaſions defeated, and their plots diſcovered? remember with pious and triumphing gratitude to a kind and watchful providence, the ſignal and timely deſtruction of the *Spaniſh Armada*, by ſtorms and tempeſt daſhed againſt each other, when vainly and proudly boaſting itſelf invincible. Remember the repeated but vain attempts of the *French* to invade us. Call to mind the ſuppreſſion of the bloody rebellion in *Ireland*, under the wiſe conduct of the brave King *William*, of immortal memory: —— the fruſtration of the like deſign at *Preſton*, by his late Majeſty's forces; and the total overthrow of ſo numerous, ſtrong and deſperate an army, by the illuſtrious Duke of *Cumberland* in *North-Britain*; a Fact freſh in every infant's mouth. Call to mind the very opportune arrival of the Prince of *Orange*, to ſave a ſinking nation from the devouring jaws of abſolute tyranny and ruin. Nor let

us

us ever forget the deliverance we are this day commemorating, from a plot ſo black, ſo horrid, ſo dreadful and bloody, that our enemies themſelves ſeem aſhamed to own it, and have the impudence to deny it; a deliverance, which conſidering it's greatneſs, and the particular circumſtances of it, is a plain demonſtration of the ſpecial care of providence over this land of liberty.

One would think our enemy's zeal would be exhauſted by ſuch fruitleſs attempts; but as if diſappointment fired their eager deſires, and ſtill the more hardened them in obſtinacy and blindneſs, their burning and perſecuting ſpirit is reſtleſs for blood and deſtruction. — Well! let them go on, blind to what has hitherto befallen them, till they pull down certain ruin upon their own heads. For though it is well known, our goverment is ſo merciful as even to ſuffer itſelf to be inſulted by the meaneſt, yet, may not I without the ſpirit of prophecy, venture to foretell, that they muſt find at laſt that, *He bears not the ſword in vain*; — *for he is the miniſter of* GOD, *a revenger to execute wrath upon them that do evil.*

And

And as notwithſtanding the many and repeated deſigns of our enemies to enſlave and deſtroy us, we are yet a free people, (and I truſt in GOD, ſhall never be otherwiſe) — let us ſtill confide in the ſame indulgent providence to defend and protect us, while we make a proper uſe of our liberties, by a laudable purſuit of every thing valuable and praiſe-worthy: — by a free and impartial enquiry into religion; — by a zeal for truth, and an univerſal charity for all men; — by growing in a juſt ſenſe of good Government and liberty; and by loyalty to the beſt of Governors, and obedience to the beſt ſyſtem of laws, being always prepared to ſacrifice our lives in ſo glorious a cauſe, againſt every enemy of our happy conſtitution. —— Hate and deteſt every principle of rebellion againſt his preſent Majeſty King GEORGE, ſince in him our liberties live, and in our firm attatchment to him and one another, we are ſecure againſt all oppreſſion and ſlavery. So benevolent a prince at the head of ſo free a nation "is the neareſt reſemblance of the "deity himſelf; he cannot be the GOD, "but he will be the Father; he cannot be "the creator, but he is, under providence,

"the

" the preſever of his people : he diſdains the
" mere obedience of your bodies, for that
" is ſervile and precarious; but he greatly
" aims at the ſubjection of our immortal parts;
" he lays hold of our will by his beneficence,
" and of our hearts by his virtues : he builds
" not his dominion upon fear, which is a diſ-
" tracted and ſliding foundation; for he de-
" ſires and deſerves to be loved, becauſe in
" love is unity and power. The ſervice of
" ſuch a prince is perfect liberty, and he
" leaves freedom to his people, that he may
" govern like a GOD."

POSTSCRIPT.

I think proper to add the following hints received from a worthy and learned friend. " That the Patrons of arbitrary pow-
" er are proof againſt the ſtrongeſt reaſo-
" nings, through the force of certain preju-
" dices, which they have deeply imbibed.
" One thing, that rivets them in their poli-
" tical ſyſtem is the general character of *Ne-*
" *ro*, in whoſe reign, St. *Paul* is ſuppoſed
" to have written this epiſtle to the *Romans*.
" But this point hath been placed in ſo ſtrong

" and

" and clear a light, as ſufficiently expoſes " their error." [Vid. *Liberty* and *Loyalty*; to which piece, I refer the curious for ſatisfaction.] " Another thing, which has contri- " buted to their deception is, the meek or " ſubmiſſive behaviour of the *primitive chriſ-* " *tians* under perſecuting emperors. But let " it be obſerved, that thoſe good people did " not trouble their heads about regal titles; " they patiently ſubmitted to the *powers in* " *being*. So that if their example proves " any thing, it will prove too much for thoſe " that alledge it. Becauſe it condemns their " ſeditious ſpirit and practices under the pre- " ſent Government."

F I N I S.